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Within the Context of Changing Role of the State Assessment of Incentive Policies Applied After 1980 in Turkey

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Abstract

Within economic policies tax incentive policies have always had a serious significance in establishing stability and encouraging investments. After 1980 in Turkey, together with the globalisation process experienced in the World, fundamental changes have been made in economic policy applications. From import substituting, inward oriented and somewhat intervening practices before 1980, an economic policy strategy has been transitioned to which makes an export-oriented industrialisation and growth model as well as free market relations dominant. In this study the objective is to discuss the question of "to what extent incentive policies applied after 1980 have realised targeted economic policies" and to make an assessment of it. In addition, by touching upon the role and function of incentive policies in economic policies, the situation after 1980 in Turkey will be determined insofar as statistical data permit. Another subject matter within the scope of this study is to assess a new draft incentive law which has not been put into effect yet but has been prepared by the Ministry of Finance, and to determine the effects of developments experienced in the World on incentive policies. As a conclusion, changes in the tax incentive understanding taking place after 1980 in Turkey is explored and suggestions are made for possible changes in the future.

JEL classification numbers: A1, E22, O31.

Key Words: Investment incentive, tax incentives, financial incentives, Priority Regions for Development, SMEs (Small and Medium Enterprises)

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1 Introduction

In an economic sense, the concept of incentive is defined as tangible and intangible encouragements that are provided by the state to facilitate the further and faster development of certain economic activities compared to others (Undersecretariat of the Treasury, 2010)

Incentivising tax policies can be defined as exempting certain income or revenue from tax or delaying tax in different ways (Bilici, 2012). Incentive policies are used for various purposes. In today's developed economies the purpose of an incentive system is not only to incentivise the industrialisation but also to increase the competitive power in international markets. In addition to these purposes, incentive policies aim to incentivise investments and attract direct foreign capital investments to home countries. Therefore, supporting large scale investments with high R&D is important from the point of global competition. However, with reasons other than this, general purpose incentive policies are being used as well. The foremost of these reasons are eliminating development and income differences between regions, increasing employment and incentivising certain sectors. By turning expectations of economic units into positive taxation and other incentives, a regenerative effect is created. The main purpose of incentives is to decrease investment costs, increase profitability and shift private sector investments to certain sectors and regions.

Tax incentives are a subject matter of wide discussion all around the world. The most important factor which causes actual tax burden to materialise under the potential tax capacity is the tax concessions which are known as tax incentives (Onder, 1993). The tax system, particularly by affecting factor prices with incentive provisions, can cause simultaneous and inter-times resource distribution in the private sector. In order to get tax revenue from the tax base which is contracting due to tax incentive measures, increasing the tax rate becomes inevitable. In the economies where tax incentives are applied, the tax burden of the taxed public is higher than the nominal rate. As a result, economic activities of these circles in question become undermined and/or tax evasion is encouraged. While in the former case national income is realised under the potential level, in the latter case economy goes out of control and public deficits increase (Onder 1993). In our country, apart from some exceptions, by changing the cost of tangible capital, the amount and composition of investments are impacted. This situation causes an increase in inflation and a waste of resources when no tax measures are taken by the circles that benefit from tax incentive measures. As a matter of fact, in a study conducted on 28 developing countries (Sgag-Toye, 1978, cited in: Onder, 1993) the reason for low tax rates in developing countries or low actual tax burden due to smuggling is the inadequacy effect of related incentives. Other results are the efforts of governments to attract foreign capital and put this into effect with strong pressure groups. In another study (Ebrill 1987, cited in: Onder, 1993) it is claimed that savings and investments are not very sensitive to incentives in general, that investments particularly are affected by non-tax factors and that the role of tax is so small to be worthy of the resulting revenue loss. In such fields as externality, regional development, activities requiring extreme risk taking, eliminating short term supply congestion and development of R&D activities, the effect of tax incentives on resource allocation turns out to be dependent on the elasticity coefficient against the changes in relative price structure. Those tax incentives which cannot provide envisioned results cause a waste of resources in the economy and naturally lead to income disparity (Onder, 1993).

Globalisation processes after 1980 have brought great dynamism to the movement of capital and, within this context, countries have started a capital attraction race. They put this application into practice through various instruments. The foremost of these instruments are tax reductions, tax deferrals, and the allocation of land, all of which make direct or indirect fund transfers from public resources to the private sector. Although another method seems to be direct financial support, they try to lessen the burden of investments by way of legislation competition (Karakurt). In the aftermath of the economic crises, investment incentives have become much more important and determinant. The incentive measures in our country have undergone changes over the course of years. With the transition from import-substituting industry policies in the 1980s to export-oriented industry and growth policy, monetary state support applications have picked up speed.

2 Incentive Policies Applied After 1980 in Turkey

Analysing incentive policies applied after 1980 in Turkey within two sub-sections gives more meaningful results from the point of the results of incentive policies and statistical data. The first period is the application period between 1980 and 2000 and the second period is the application period between 2000 and 2011. In the 1980s, together with globalisation, some changes in incentive policies occurred. The incentive policies which are largely organized with respect to regional development levels in the current legal regulations have brought incentive applications in four general fields: cash incentives, taxation incentives, land allocation, energy support and export incentive support.

Cash incentives are made up of resource utilisation support premiums and fund-based loans. It was one of the important investment instruments in the period 1985-1991, and they have been applied heavily in Organised Industrial Zones (OIZ) and Priority Regions for Development (PRD) (Pinar, 2011). While 22 cities were within the scope of PRD in 1968 this figure has reached 40 at the beginning of the 1980s. By making different rankings in 1999 of General Incentive Legislation, in order to increase the effectiveness in the application, a differentiation has been adopted: as Developed Regions, Normal Regions and Priority Regions for Development (State Planning Organisation - SPO, 2000)

2.1 Incentive Policies Applied between 1980-2000 in Turkey

The incentive policies applied after 1980 have accelerated monetary state aid applications; however, starting from the beginning of the 1990s the problem of resource scarcity that emerged in the public sector has caused a decrease of resources allocated from the budget to incentivise investments. In addition, in this period, within the framework of our international obligations, such as European Union legislation, free trade agreements and World Trade Organisation, a variety of support factors have decreased. In this period, incentive measures like tax exemptions and tax concessions have replaced monetary support factors. Starting from 1995 onwards, without making region and sector differences, a "general incentive system", such as value added tax exemption, custom duty exemption and export concession, has been applied for certain investments. This

application has continued until the "Decision on State Supports for Investments" that was issued in 2009.

2.2 Incentive Policies Applied between 2000-2011 in Turkey

The biggest change in the incentive system in Turkey has taken place in the past ten years. The first change is the change made by the law numbered 5084, the application of which was started in 2004; the second is the change made by the law numbered 5035 in 2006; the third one is remade "Decision on State Supports for Investments" in 2009; and the fourth one is a draft law which has not yet been put into effect but was announced to the public by the relevant Ministry on April 5th 2012². Under this heading we will try to determine the differences of these changes from past applications.

When we take the mentioned changes into account in Table 1, it becomes evident that the desired objective has been constantly changing in the past ten years in the changing incentive applications.

Table 1: Comparison of incentive policies applied in the past ten years in Turkey

	Regional	Incentive	Are the support rates differentiati ng among the reasons?	Sector selection	Horizontal fields	Large Investments	Clustering Support
Incentive Law numbered 5084 *	36 cities where per capita income is less than 1500 USD dollars	* Tax and insurance premium reductions * Energy support * Allocation of land for free	-	-	-	-	-
Law number 5350 which is update of 5084**	13 new cities have been added to 36 cities supported by 5084	* Tax and insurance premium reductions * Energy support * Allocation of land for free	-	-	-	-	-
System which has been started to be applied in 2009***	Turkey-wide (26 NUTS-2 Regions are divided into 4 different regions with respect to socioeconomic development level	* Tax and insurance premium reductions * Allocation of investment place * Customs duty exemption * VAT concession * Interest rate support	+	+	-	+	-

² Other than mentioned fundamental changes there have also been changes made within other legal regulations and laws and by laws towards incentives in this period.

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The new	Turkey-wide	* VAT Concession					
incentive	(By using	* Customs duty					
draft	socioeconomic	exemption					
general	development	* Tax reduction					
framework	index	* Insurance					
of	announced by	Premium					
which has	Ministry of	support (over					
been	Economy Turkey	minimum					
announced	is being	wage)	+	+	+	+	+
on	divided into	* Interest rate					
5 April	6 regions)	support					
2012		* Allocation of					
		investment place					
		* Income Tax					
		Withholding Support					
		* VAT return					

*Law About Incentivising Investments and Employment and Making Changes in Some Laws, numbered 5084 which was published in the Official Gazette on February 6th 2004
** Law About Making Changes in the Law of Incentivising Investments and Employment and Making Changes in Some Laws, numbered 5350 which was published in the Official Gazette on May 12th 2005

*** Decision on State Support for Investments, numbered 2009/15199 which was published in Official Gazette on July 16th 2009

Source: ACAR, O. & CAGLAR, E. (2012), An Assessment On New Incentive Package, TEPAV Policy Note, April, p. 10.

The objective of the laws numbered 5084 and 5035 has been determined as "in some cities to apply tax and insurance premium incentives, to provide energy support and to increase investment and employment through provision of land and plot for free to investments" (law numbered 5084, article 1). In the 2009 changes, the objective was broadly defined as "In accordance with envisioned targets in Development Plans and Annual Programs and international agreements, to direct the savings into high value added investments, to increase the production and employment, to facilitate continuity of investment trends and sustainable development, to encourage large scale investments with technology and R&D content which will increase international competition power, to increase direct foreign investment, to eliminate regional development level differences, to support investments towards environment protection and research and development" (Official Gazette, 07.16.2009/227290, Decision Number 15199). With the relevant regulation a new incentive system has been developed in Turkey. With this system in determination of dimensions of sectoral – regional and large scale project-based incentive system and tax incentives, two basic criteria have been implemented. These are region and sector differentiations. In Turkey, by predicating level 2, the cities have been divided into four regions with respect to their socio-economic development levels.



Figure 1: Statistical Region Units Classification (SRUC) of Level 2 Based Regions In each region, sectors taken into incentive scope have been determined separately. With this aspect, sectoral and regional two factors have been brought together in the incentive system.

The new system consists of three main components; namely, Regional – Sectoral Incentive System, Large Project Incentive System, General Incentive System. In addition to these, "time dimension" has been brought in as another factor (Karakurt, A.). Accordingly, the taxation incentives provided to investments which start before 12.31.2010 have been maintained at a higher level compared to investments starting after this date (Table 2 and Table 3).

Table 2: Reduction rates and investment contribution rates in case investment starting before 12/31/2010

Regions	Investment contribution rate (%)	Corporate tax or income tax reduction rate (%)
I	20	50
II	30	60
III	40	80
IV	60	90

Source: Decision on Changes to be made in Decision on State Aids in Investments-2011/1597, 04.14.2011 dated and 27905 numbered Official Gazette

Table 3: Reduction rates and investment contribution rates in case investment starting before 12/31/2011

Regions	Investment contribution rate (%)	Corporate tax or income tax reduction rate (%)
I	15	50
II	25	60
III	35	80
IV	55	90

Source: Decision on Changes to be made in Decision on State Aids in Investments - 2011/1597, 04.14.2011 dated and 27905 numbered Official Gazette

The same situation has been regulated for "insurance premium employer share support" (Table 4).

Table 4: The periods in which part of the insurance premium of the employer corresponding to minimum wage that should be paid for employment will be paid by the Treasury

Regions	Investments started before the Investments started after the	
	date 12/31/2010	12/31/2010
I	2 years	-
II	3 years	1
III	5 years	3 years
IV	7 years	5 years

Source: Decision on Changes to be made in Decision on State Aids in Investments - 2011/1597, 04.14.2011 dated and 27905 numbered Official Gazette

Another change brought in with the new incentive system is "Large scale investments". For investments over 50 Million TL in 12 sectors, other incentives excluding interest are provided. In addition to the "time" dimension being introduced for large scale investments, the tax incentive has been kept higher compared to sectoral-regional investments (Table 5 and Table 6).

Table 5: Applied reduction rates and investment contribution rates in large scale investment cases started before the date 12/31/2010

Regions	Investment contribution rate (%)	Corporate tax or income tax
		reduction rate (%)
I	30	50
II	40	60
III	50	80
IV	70	90

Source: Decision on Changes to be made in Decision on State Aids in Investments-2011/1597, 04.14.2011 dated and 27905 numbered Official Gazette

Table 6: Applied reduction rates and investment contribution rates in case large scale investments started before the date 12/31/2011

Regions	Investment contribution rate (%)	Corporate tax or income tax reduction rate (%)
I	25	50
II	35	60
III	45	80
IV	65	90

Source: Decision on Changes to be made in Decision on State Aids in Investments - 2011/1597, 04.14.2011 dated and 27905 numbered Official Gazette

Investments which will benefit from regional supports: In Regions I and II: i) Tax reduction, ii) Insurance premium employer share support, iii) Allocation of investment place. In Regions III and IV: i) Tax reduction, ii) Insurance premium employer share support, iii) Allocation of investment place, iv) Interest support. In large scale

investments: i) Exemption from customs duty, ii) VAT exemption, iii) Tax reduction, iv) Insurance premium employer share support, v) Allocation of investment place can be applied.

After the year 2000, within the framework of this study it will be useful to evaluate the draft bill which has not yet been put into effect but has been announced by the relevant Ministry to the public as the most comprehensive tax incentives in the history of the Republic. As we have mentioned above, in other changes the draft bill in question is different with regard to objectives. In the new draft, objectives have been mentioned under these headings:

- Encouraging investments, decreasing regional development level differences
- Improvement of investment environment
- Encouraging service exports and struggling with current deficit,
- Simplifications for tradesmen,
- Establishing justice of taxation,
- Simplifications for citizens,
- Macro precautionary measures

While the changes brought in are in the character of continuation of the incentive system in 2009 in certain areas, the regionalisation method has been used as a differentiation. 81 cities in Turkey have been divided into six different regions and for each region supports with different doses have been brought in. Another important difference is the introduction of incentives for strategic investments in addition to general, regional and large scale investment incentives.

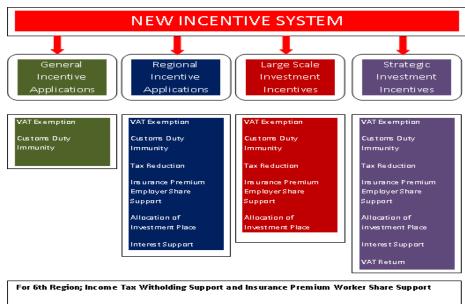


Figure 2: New Incentive System

Source: http://lore.com.tr/p 252 yeni-tesvik-paketi 2, Access Date: 12 April 2012.

In order to see the differences of new incentive draft bills one can look at Figure 2 and Figure 3. However, in order to evaluate this draft bill the application results will become evident after the required legislative regulations are made. At present what can be said

about the draft is to determine the problems that will energy and make a general assessment. At the conclusion of the study, a relevant assessment will be made.

STRATEGIC INVE	ESTMENT INCENTIVES				
SUPPORT FACTO	RS	ALL REGIONS			
VAT Exemption		C	K		
Customs Duty Imm	unity		C	K	
	Investment Contribution Rate				
Tax Reduction	(%)		50)%	
Insurance Premium Employer Share					
Employer Share Support	Support Period	7 years (In 6th Region it is 10 years			0 years)
Allocation of Invest	ment Place		O	K	
VAT Return			es of inve	nd constru estments ov on TL	
Interest Support		_	ion of not	on TL wit exceeding ent total	
Income Tax Withole	10 years only for 6th Region investments			gion	
	Worker Share Support	10 years only for 6th Region investments			gion

Figure 3: Strategic Investment Incentives

Source: http://lore.com.tr/p_252_yeni-tesvik-paketi_2, Access Date: 12 April 2012.

3 Assessment of Application Results of Investment Incentive System After 1980

According to current statistical data it is possible to evaluate the incentive certificates for which an investment incentive system was arranged from the point of number, investment amount and employment. In addition, sector-based assessment and the application results of the Undersecretariat of the Treasury in certain sectors allow a general assessment of incentive applications to be made. In Annex Table I, the number of certificates, fixed investment amount and number of employed people are presented by year for the period 1980-2011. In addition, in Annex Table II as general total sectoral – regional data and fractional values have been presented.

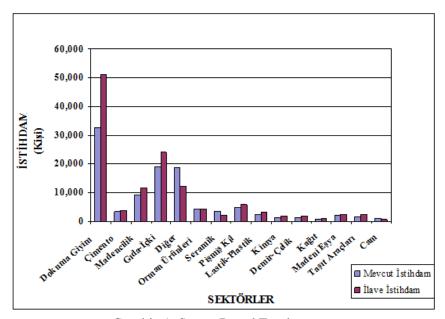
When we analyse Annex Table I, the changes in employment over time, fixed investments and the number of certificates look parallel with the economic crises experienced in the Turkish economy. In the 1981, 1991, 1994, 2001 and 2009 crisis periods there was a decrease in each of the three indicators. When we look at the sector and region

distribution, the number of manufacturing industry certificates is at the highest rate from the point of investment and employment (56%, 53 % and 61%). In the second order is the services sector, and at the end of the list is the energy sector, followed by the mining sector (1.7%, 0.02% and 1.15%).

According to regional distribution, Marmara Region ranks first with 38%, followed by the Aegean and Central Anatolia Region, while the Eastern Anatolia Region ranks last with 4%. As can be inferred from the table, it becomes evident that investment incentives between 1980 and 2011 did not decrease the regional imbalance, and desired developments in basic sectors could not be attained.

3.1 Assessment of 2004-2008 Energy Support Application Results

In the applications of the Undersecretariat of the Treasury after year 2000 there are application results related to certain sectors. There exist the 2004-2008 Energy Support application results of Directorate of Incentives and Applications. With the law numbered 5350 that was issued on 05.18.2005 and with the changes made by the law numbered 5084, the number of cities in this scope has been increased from 36 to 49 and minimum employment number has been increased from 10 to 30 people (Undersecretariat of the Treasury, 2009).

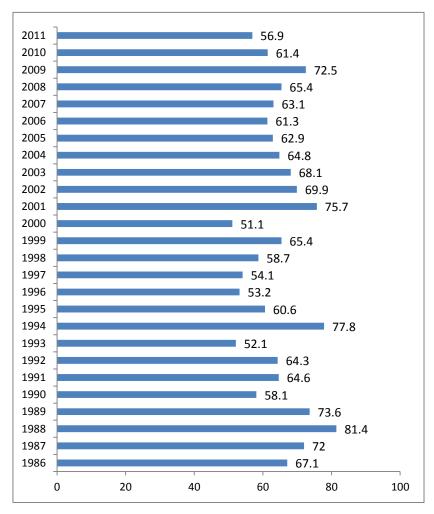


Graphic 1: Sector Based Employment

In Graphic 1, sector based employment data are presented. When the graph is analysed it can be seen that energy support applications, particularly in labour-intensive sectors (textile, clothing, food-beverage), provide high additional employment. Energy support applications have provided an important contribution to an increase in employment. \

3.2 Assessment of Incentives Applied in Exports

The tax incentives applied in exports have increased the exports in some periods but has later shown an unbalanced development. Although tax incentives have caused developments in some foreign currency earning fields (tourism, foreign country contracting, foreign freight revenues), they also have caused uncoordinated developments. Particularly in the period of 1996-2005, the trade of balance has increasingly caused foreign trade deficit in such sectors as intermediate goods of the economy and mining. In Graphic 2, export/import ratios for the 1986-2011 period have been presented. Despite all of the incentive measures in this period, this ratio has not fallen below 50%, the lowest ratio has been 51% and the highest has been 81.4%. This situation is the most tangible indicator of the fact that incentive policies have not decreased dependency to imports.



Graphic 2: Export / Import Ratio (1986-2011) (Percentage)

3.3 Assessment of SME Investment Incentives

According to the legislation in effect, merger and taxation incentives are being applied for Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) (Table 8).

Table 8: Envisioned Regional Distribution of SME Investment Incentive Certificates (2004-2009)

Regions	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Marmara	48	23	12	305	395	162
Central Anatolia	62	26	10	179	268	117
Aegean	49	22	5	161	181	89
Mediterranean	49	24	9	130	176	98
Black Sea	134	66	71	83	149	42
Eastern Anatolia	56	29	16	29	88	30
Southeastern Anatolia	38	28	13	55	106	48
Total	436	218	136	942	1363	586

In Table 8 envisioned regional distribution of SME investment incentive certificates between 2004 and 2009 is presented. When we analyse the table it can be seen that developed regions of Turkey such as Marmara, Central Anatolia, the Aegean and the Mediterranean have benefited more from incentive certificates, particularly after 2007. In this circumstance we can say that incentives are not effective at eliminating imbalance between regions.

4 Conclusion

Countries have been incentivising investments with various instruments. With the global crisis, investment incentives have become much more critical and determinant. When we look at the application results of incentive policies after 1980, the following concluding suggestions can be made. What is obvious is that in each of the incentive policies applied after 1980 the scope of the incentive has been expanded to realise the same objective. The most tangible indicator of this is that as the changes are made in incentive legislation sectoral support applications increase gradually. When one looks at the changing trend of the incentive applications over time it can be seen that while it is applied as taxation incentives at the level of enterprise at the beginning, with the new regulations it is in the character of providing support at investment stage (like a free plot). The fact that the new incentive draft has many objectives will make it difficult to reach desired targets with a single policy instrument because it will cause conflict of means-ends or conflict between means. Past applications have not attained success, except for some sectors. The reasons for this are disorder in legislation, long bureaucratic processes, and making political gain arrangements. The sectors which will be handled within the scope of strategic investments in the new draft bill will enhance the international competition power of Turkey. However, attaining this requires not only an incentive policy but also other supportive legal regulations. In conclusion, because incentive policies do not provide envisioned results they cause a waste of resources and they further disrupt resource allocation and income distribution in the economy.

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Appendix

Table 1: Number of Investment Incentive Certificates, Fixed Investment Amount, Employment by Years

Year	Number of Certificates	Fixed Investment	Employment (people)
1980	583	375.122.00	62.945
1981	3.284	2.106.876.26	147.084
1982	1.591	944.335.78	79.167
1983	1.019	1.494.740.20	59.135
1984	1.218	4.062.941.22	79.547
1985	1.911	87.286.083.61	123.332
1986	2.606	34.002.769.85	159.082
1987	2.968	19.775.017.35	176.002
1988	2.900	42.938.902.74	291.646
1989	3.427	100.577.449.84	228.347
1990	3.256	82.939.929.79	211.472
1991	1.901	130.595.475.50	226.610
1992	1.721	269.826.011.99	143.968
1993	3.244	2.214.452.823.20	221.925
1994	1.527	1.381.204.066.00	99.004
1995	5.170	5.401.909.324.00	381.752
1996	5.214	3.762.565.125.33	283.836
1997	5.385	7.450.890.542.53	353.351
1998	4.588	6.552.156.744.84	307.470
1999	3.204	11.090.399.763.83	217.257
2000	3.755	17.419.066.073.66	207.067
2001	2.350	14.942.726.973.09	122.282
2002	3.216	15.438.004.348.95	165.653
2003	4.097	22.201.299.732.51	191.174
2004	4.312	20.181.141.589.51	200.839
2005	4.498	23.241.329.449.71	208.068
2006	3.231	21.535.630.390.39	138.972
2007	3.203	29.373.989.451.50	177.685
2008	3.543	34.401.166.689.41	150.194
2009	2.647	36.439.011.423.81	101.205
2010	4.504	67.114.995.965.06	159.509
2011	4.618	58.085.414.046.98	132.252
2012	938	11.759.805.206.40	26.906
Total	100.691	410.764.085.387.03	5.357.832

Table 2: Sectoral and Regional Distribution of Investment Incentive Certificates In the Period of 1980-2012

Sectors	Number of	%	Fixed	%	Employment	%
	Certificates		Investment			
Energy	1.745	1.72	75.636.173,99	0.02	66.905	1.15
Agriculture	6.038	5.94	8.224.283.227,50	2.45	173.721	2.98
Services	32.117	31.60	138.555.249.927,08	41.33	1.789.640	30.67
Manufacturing	57.709	56.78	177.623.000.257,61	52.99	3.579.651	61.35
Mining	4.020	3.96	10.725.378.875,15	3.20	224.821	3.85
Total	101.629	100	335.203.548.461,33	100	5.834.738	100
			Regions			
Marmara	37.252	37.03	156.470.462.780,68	40.18	2.206.888	38.85
Black Sea	8.851	8.80	32.036.500.174,25	8.23	483.037	8.50
Central Anatolia	14.987	14.90	46.464.896.707,84	11.93	784.049	13.80
Southeastern	7.880	7.83	20.770.546.887,32	5.33	361.259	6.36
Anatolia						
Aegean	15.270	15.18	48.154.389.239,29	12.37	860.360	15.15
Eastern Anatolia	4.922	4.89	14.176.121.372,40	3.64	207.934	3.66
Mediterranean	11.435	11.37	71.302.382.116,59	18.31	776.475	13.67
Total	100.597	100	389.375.299.278	100	5.680.002	100